

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 230350 TOSEC 270267

LIMDIS; FOR LORD ONLY FROM BARTHOLOMEW

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) UNGA, PFOR, CY

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S UNGA SPEECH -- CYPRUS SECTION

REF: SECTO 27111

1. FOLLOWING IS NEW CYPRUS DRAFT DONE BY S/P ON BASIS
OF EUR DRAFT.

2. THE CRISIS OF CYPRUS HAS COME TO A POTENTIALLY

CRUCIAL STAGE. IF STALEMATE IS PERMITTED TO CONTINUE,

THERE IS EVERY LIKELIHOOD THAT CONFRONTATIONAL POSITIONS

WILL SOLIDIFY, PERPETUATING A SITUATION MARKED BY THE

CONSTANT THREAT OF RENEWED WARFARE. THE LONG-TORMENTED
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PEOPLE OF CYPRUS MUST BE ALLOWED TO FIND LASTING PEACE
UNDER CONDITIONS WHICH PRESERVE THEIR SOVEREIGNTY
AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. THE WORLD COMMUNITY CANNOT
BUT BE DEEPLY CONCERNED OVER A FAILURE OF PROGRESS WHICH
CAN ONLY INTENSIFY BITTERNESS AND RESENTMENT AND INCREASE
THE LIKELIHOOD OF DEEPENING INTERNATIONAL TENSION.

3. THE CYPRUS CRISIS IS CHARACTERIZED BY HISTORIC,
CULTURAL, ETHNIC, AND RELIGIOUS COMPLICATIONS -- ALL
COMPOUNDED BY UNIQUE TENSIONS AMONG AND BETWEEN
DOMESTIC NEEDS AND PRESSURES, NATIONALISTIC OBJECTIVES,
AND INTERNATIONAL RIVALRIES.

4. THESE ARE DAUNTING CONSIDERATIONS. BUT THEY
CANNOT WARRANT OR EXPLAIN THE CONTINUED FAILURE OF
THE PARTIES INVOLVED TO TAKE EVEN THE BASIC STEPS NEEDED
IF PROGRESS IS TO BE POSSIBLE. WITHIN THE PARTICULAR
PARTIES, INFLEXIBILITY TOO OFTEN HAS BEEN PURSUED AS
A MEANS OF WINNING APPROBATION. ON THOSE FEW OCCASIONS
WHEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWO CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES
HAVE COME TOGETHER, THEY HAVE FAILED TO SEIZE
THE OPPORTUNITIES BEFORE THEM, FALLING INSTEAD INTO

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INCONCLUSIVE PROCEDURAL DISPUTES. BOTH SIDES HAVE
SEEMED TO PREFER DELAY, HOPING ERRONEOUSLY THAT
OUTSIDE INTERVENTION WOULD MAKE UNNECESSARY THE
DIFFICULT STEPS NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS, OR

MIRACULOUSLY SOLVE THE DISPUTE WITHOUT PAIN. NO SUCH
MIRACLE HAS OCCURRED, AND THE PASSAGE OF TIME HAS
SERVED MERELY TO COMPLICATE THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL
CONSIDERATIONS AT WORK TO DIMINISH THE POTENTIAL FOR
CONSTRUCTIVE CONCILIATION FROM THE OUTSIDE.

5. THUS IT IS TIME FOR ALL CONCERNED TO FOCUS ON THE
OVERRIDING OBJECTIVE -- THE PEACE AND WELLBEING OF THE
SUFFERING CYPRIOT PEOPLE -- AND TO UNDERTAKE A NEW
COMMITMENT TO PROGRESS TOWARD A JUST AND DURABLE
SETTLEMENT. WE MUST BE WILLING TO LOOK FOR NEW APPROACHE
TO FOSTER A SOLUTION, CONSCIOUS THAT IT IS WRONG AND
ILLUSORY FOR ANY OUTSIDE PARTY TO IMPOSE UPON THE
CYPRIOTS A FORMULA FOR SETTLEMENT. THAT MUST COME
FROM WITHIN CYPRUS -- FROM THE CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES
THEMSELVES. IT IS THEY WHO MUST SHAPE A SETTLEMENT
WHICH WILL ALLOW THEM TO REBUILD A SOCIETY FREE OF
HATRED AND ANIMOSITY. IT IS THEY WHO MUST DECIDE
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HOW THEIR ISLAND'S ECONOMY AND GOVERNMENT SHALL BE
RECONSTRUCTED.

6. THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT FOR SUCH A
SETTLEMENT TO BE EFFECTIVE, THE PARTIES MUST CREATE A
FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS WHICH RECOGNIZES THE
FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS OF AN EQUITABLE SOLUTION:
-- A SETTLEMENT WHICH PRESERVES THE INDEPENDENCE,

SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF CYPRUS;

-- A TERRITORIAL ARRANGEMENT WHICH TAKES INTO

ACCOUNT THE ECONOMIC REQUIREMENTS AND HUMANITARIAN

CONCERNS OF THE TWO CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES, RECOGNIZING

THAT THE PRESENT DIVIDING LINES ON CYPRUS MUST BE

ADJUSTED TO REDUCE THE AREA CURRENTLY CONTROLLED BY

THE TURKISH SIDE;

-- A CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENT WHICH PROVIDES

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE TWO CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES CAN

LIVE IN FREEDOM AND HAVE A LARGE VOICE IN THEIR OWN

AFFAIRS; AND

-- AGREEMENT ON SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS THAT WILL

PERMIT THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN MILITARY FORCE OTHER

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THAN THOSE PRESENT UNDER INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT.

7. I KNOW THERE IS AN INTENSE DESIRE FOR PROGRESS

ON THIS DIFFICULT ISSUE. IT IS VITAL THAT IN THE

MONTHS AHEAD THE SECRETARY GENERAL MAINTAIN HIS

TIRELESS EFFORTS TO RESTORE MOMENTUM TO THE CYPRUS

NEGOTIATING PROCESS. I HAVE SPOKEN TO HIM RECENTLY

AND KNOW OF HIS DEDICATION TO THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS

AND HIS DETERMINATION TO MOVE AHEAD PRODUCTIVELY.

THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT THE PARTIES INVOLVED

MUST SEEK TO RESUME THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS WITHIN

A FRAMEWORK OF AGREED FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES. I HAVE

DISCUSSED THIS POSSIBILITY WITH SEVERAL WESTERN
EUROPEAN LEADERS. IN THE DAYS AHEAD I INTEND TO
EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEW APPROACH IN MY OWN
TALKS WITH ALL THE INTERESTED PARTIES.

8. IT MUST BY NOW BE EVIDENT THAT IN THE VERY NATURE
OF THIS SITUATION NO FACTION, NO NATION, NO COMMUNITY,
NO PARTY CAN EMERGE WITH EVERYTHING THEY DESIRE.
BUT IF ANYTHING THEY DESIRE IS TO BE DURABLY SECURED,
ACCOMMODATION MUST TAKE PLACE. THE PARTIES INVOLVED
MUST NOW DETERMINE TO UNIFY THEIR INDIVIDUAL POSITIONS,
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TO RECONCILE THEMSELVES TO CONCILIATION, AND TO
REFRAIN FROM TAKING UNILATERAL MEASURES WHICH COULD
PREJUDICE THE ISSUES WHICH MUST BE TAKEN UP AT THE
NEGOTIATING TABLE.

9. THE UNITED STATES, FOR ITS PART, IS READY TO JOIN
WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO HELP REINSTITUTE
AND RESTORE MOMENTUM TO THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. BUT
THE FUNDAMENTAL READINESS -- AND THE ULTIMATE OUTCOME
-- DEPENDS UPON A RENEWAL OF WILL AMONG THE PARTIES
DIRECTLY INVOLVED. THE WORLD -- AND THE SUFFERING
PEOPLE OF CYPRUS -- ARE AWAITING THEIR ANSWER. HABIB

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